113, 101, 221, 619, 463 Kurd MAll

[For information on the Kurd see k Coon, Ml Middle East, cat. 116, pp. 215-217.]

f persons in a series of exchanges. There is neither 443
nit nor money-changer in the town, and the funds of a [476]
rchant are in interesting safekeeping, either locked up [453]
a chest or buried in the floor in his house, the latter [454]
rrities being quite common. For everyday purposes the
rchant keeps only a little cash on hand, usually a
lang or two in change in a tin cigarette-box or a drawer.
number of the older men are illiterate, and the diffi- 451
ulties of keeping accounts give them great trouble. [212]
veral years ago the teachers offered the townspeople [874]
me courses along these lines at night, and were very
urprised at their popularity. The greybeards learning [522]
heir arithmetic is still considered a great joke. Usually
e illiterate merchants seek the help of some friend to
repare their lists and to work out more complicated sums,
d many place high expectations in the help of their sons
school.

Before describing in greater detail the rules of 463
e merchants and craftsmen of the town, it is convenient
re to provide a list of persons according to their
ccupations. It will readily be seen that a number of
ese are not engaged in commerce or craft, and still
here employed only in the service of those residing in
e town. It is appropriate, however, to present a
mplete grouping, inasmuch as these are the occupations
the townspeople, save only those who are wealthy enough
neglect work, the mullas or religious leaders, those

employed by the government, and those without work at all. 463

Bakers	8
Barbers	3
Blacksmiths	2
Boothblacks	2
Brickmaker	1
Butchers	4
Carpenters	4
Cloth-sellers (bazaz)	20
Cobblers	6
Drivers	2
Farriers	2
Fishermen	4
General merchants	10
Hotel-owner (khaneji)	1
Hunter	1
Itinerant traders (siar) ... variable:	30-50
Laborers ... variable:	30-50
Laundresses	unknown
Masons and builders	3
Midwives	4
Muleteers	5
Porters	8
Restaurant-owner	1
Roasters of meat (kalabshig)	3
Seamstresses	6
Servants	unknown
Tailors	8
Tea-shop owners	10
Tinsmiths	3
Weavers	2
Wholesale merchants	5

It is an interesting characteristic of Rowandus that no person living in the town is directly employed in agriculture or animal husbandry, nor does the town itself lay claim to agricultural lands or pasturage, although a dozen or so persons living therein own such property. There are, to be sure, a number of gardens within its precincts, and not a few of its people have been drawn directly from the soil. This circumstance, the total absence of cultivators, seems puzzling at first, but a comparison with similar towns seems to indicate it is probably fortuitous. The salient feature appears to be the absence of everyday

241 [231] [247]

children, six girls and a boy), and various household necessities, particularly firewood and kerosene. He also has to pay taxes on his house and his shop, as well as maintain two children in school. Finally, there is a variety of miscellaneous purchases, including gifts for his wife, an animal for Jejani Ramazan, tobacco for cigarettes (his wife is an inveterate smoker), and benevolent collections. All things considered, Fatah-Ullah's cash profit at the end of a typical year is not extensive, perhaps ten or twenty dinars, and this sum is never invested nor is it used to expand his business, but is hoarded in cash and removed from circulation.

In completing this discussion of merchants, craftsmen, and laborers in Rowanduz, it is convenient to reserve until later persons, such as the midwives, as well as a number of others whose employment is only casual or in the service of religion, for they have little real economic significance in the community. Of those here treated, some notes of their origins have been made, and their derivation from older families in the town, from the villages, or from without the district itself, as in the case of Shakir Effendi and the merchant Fatah-Ullah who moved in years past from Sulaymaniya. It is important to realize that all of these occupations, even those of the craftsmen, are so simple that almost any man can try his hand at them after the briefest of apprenticeships, and, indeed, the occupational histories of a large number in the town are extremely varied. There are no unions or guilds, and

nothing that resembles a formal apprenticeship, nor does there appear to be any pressure exerted against a man who cares to attempt this or that employment. Occupations, it is true, tend to remain within families, as has been seen more particularly in the case of the masons, but it is far from an exclusive rule. There is some hierarchy in trades, and an unclearly defined distinction between callings which are genial and those which are not. A successful kababchi or meat-roaster might well become a merchant, but the merchant's son would rarely become a kababchi. There is also some exchange of persons between town and villages, those seeking their fortunes in Rowanduz and those, successful or unsuccessful, returning to the land, but migration from the town itself outside the district is very limited. This does not apply to the area as a whole, and large numbers of the Kurdish people of northern Iraq, both men and women, migrate from their villages to the cities. The Kurdish hamal or porter in Baghdad, as well as the Kurdish prostitute, are well known. The permanent population of Rowanduz, however, with its core of older families from the days before the first World War, seems extremely stable. 463 ● 464 467 554 463 166 [482] [548]

It remains to notice those people who constitute the wealthier class of townspeople, and who, although some are merchants, need not engage in labor unless they so choose. A large number of people possess minor amounts of capital or smaller holdings, such as Fatah-Ullah, but 556 565

the district is derived from agriculture and animal husbandry, and that the surplus production so obtained is marketed directly to Erbil or through a number of local centers, of which Rowandux has major importance. As a channel of trade, however, between Erbil and the producers, the town must also depend to a certain extent on a profitable commerce with the villagers, either through its bazar or its itinerant traders. Here, too, volume has fallen, and two reasons can be cited, the first of which is the rise of Dyana. This village, the strongest mercantile competitor of Rowandux, arose on lands owned by Lali Khan near a British rest-camp constructed during the second World War and now abandoned. Dyana is now sought out, at the expense of Rowandux, for a very cogent reason. It is customary for a villager to have a continuous debt, usually five or ten dinars, with a merchant, paid off again and again and just as often reconstructed. Many villagers now go to Dyana by reason of such a sum owed in Rowandux, not because they wish to escape payment, but to obtain a desired respite and expansion of credit. Dyana is also easier of access from the new main road than Rowandux, and this may contribute to its popularity. Whether or not the villagers will sooner or later exhaust their credit in Dyana and return to their old market is difficult to say. Second, in Ottoman times there were thirty or forty Jewish households in Rowandux and they continued in these numbers until the coming of the Israeli War in Palestine. Most were skilled craftsmen and their departure for Israel,

439 [241] [166] [426] 563 167 463

although the Israeli is universally despised, brought a decline in the variety and quality of craftsmanship in Rowanduz freely confessed and regretted by the townspeople. A man who now wishes to purchase such things as gold jewelry for his wife must travel to Erbil.

It must be admitted that the strength of the town as a center based on village trade is precarious, and much of the commercial activity with importance in district economy has been replaced by service to the government personnel and the several wealthy landowners who reside within it. In brief, the economic realignments of the first World War have changed the bases of the size and importance of Rowanduz. Once these were primarily commercial, and only secondarily political, while today a reversal of this position has taken place. The increased influence of the government, which is a matter of numbers, into everyday life has introduced into the town a new income without whose supplement Rowanduz might have experienced certain decline.

now fallen into disuse. In imitation of the aristocracy, many of the most powerful maintained followings of armed men and diwankhanas open to the public, and one might compare them to the "merchant princes" of other lands, for example, the burghers of Medieval Germany. They were, in fact, a pseudo-aristocracy. After the sack of the town during the first World War, and the decline of trade, this class suffered greatly in numbers and in wealth, although it is still represented by such persons as Ra'uf Effendi in the group of commoners designated effendis. One example of the manner in which the ghalabis and their modern successors have assumed the functions of the chieftainship is illustrated by sanctuary. In 1949 a girl of the town, detected in illicit relations with a young man, took refuge in Ra'uf Effendi's house. He protected her and arranged her marriage with the youth in question, with, one might add, the help of the police. One of the chief characteristics of this highest commoner group is its mobility, for any person who has obtained great wealth can add himself to it, just as those whose fortunes have declined can lose its distinction.

The second concept operating to form a hierarchy in the commoner group is the distinction between skilled and unskilled labor. The lesser merchants and craftsmen, as one might expect, are of a higher status than common laborers. This group of more favored persons includes the carpenters, cloth-sellers, cobblers, masons, poorer shopkeepers, tailors,

and weavers. Of slightly lower rank than these are the barbers and those engaged in providing food, the bakers, butchers, and meat-roasters. As has been seen, the meat-roaster or kababchi is considered lowly indeed. In the lowest category are to be found the atar or itinerant traders and unskilled labor, the bootblacks, the porters and workers, and the servants. Those engaged by the government, for example, the police, parallel this system. Ordinary policemen have the equivalent status of an unskilled laborer, while the non-commissioned officers enjoy that of the lesser merchants and craftsmen. The third concept, which acts to establish a spectrum ranging from effendi to the lowliest manial, is the question of relative wealth. A mason with a great amount of money or property, in spite of his calling, may enjoy the prestige of one who does not work with his hands. Thus to determine the status of any person within the commoner group, one must ask three questions, whether or not he labors with his hands, if so, the type of his work, and the extent of his wealth.

Within the group of townspeople, although one is usually deferential in conduct to a person of higher status, these things do not have as much importance in everyday etiquette as in marriage and in friendship. In both of the systems outlined, the grand cleavages have been indicated as the gulfs between aristocrat and commoner and between educated and uneducated, but, aside from these, there is an extremely delicate appraisal of relative equality, judged

people for burial, to perform circumcision, to fire the gun for Ramadan, to play the tambourine, to assist at ceremonies of all sorts, and to help people. I can cure illnesses by my own medicines. I have now left everything in this world which is bad, and have started my prayers. 159 792 [767]

Sayyid Hesani, of whom Hajji Mustafa speaks above, was one of the most distinguished residents of Rowanduz, although not a native of the town. He died some years ago, and his house is still pointed out. Sayyid Hesani was not directly concerned in the feud between Nuri Bawil Agha and Isma'il Beg, although he was an adherent of the latter, but was closely bound up with Kurdish revolutionary activities. He was a writer, and operated the first Kurdish press in Iraq. The investigator possesses a postage stamp of the "Government of Southern Kurdistan," printed by Sayyid Hesani for the short-lived "state" of Shaykh Mahmud. Sayyid Hesani was engaged in a number of enterprises, some of them questionable from the government's point of view, and Hajji Mustafa, although he neglected to mention the fact, was one of his men. Hajji Mustafa also failed to relate how, during the second World War, he and several other adventurers procured police uniforms and levied customs duties from lorries going from Iran to Iraq at a point several miles in advance of the real customs station. The drivers were surprised to have to pay their tolls a second time and there was an investigation, but Hajji Mustafa escaped indictment. This exceptional man, who, in the course of his life, had been a barber, government employee, highwayman, itinerant trader, merchant, muhtar, muleteer, owner of a tea-shop, 159 [628] [669] [205] [579] [651] 159 463

postman, quack doctor, roaster of meat, servant, and spy, illustrates the personality of many of the darwishes, as well as the diversity of occupations which a commoner can experience in the Rowanduz area. A cheerful egotist, he discovered something in the darwish movement which offered the social status he desired, having been dissatisfied with other fields of endeavor. In spite of his statement above, he is generally acknowledged to be the worst barber in the bazar, because he sacrifices attention to business to the pleasures of conversation. He and his family are tacitly supported by the house of Shakir Effendi with "gifts" of food and money. Although he is considered slightly demented, the townspeople are fond of Hajji Mustafa, who adds colour and noise to everyday life, and he is dearly loved by the children.

There are many miscellaneous beliefs to be recorded in the town, some with obvious religious character and others not. As in the case of folktales, further investigation, particularly among the villages, might provide a large body of variant beliefs and practices. Several of the outstanding examples will suffice, for the purpose of this study, to illustrate the general character. When there has been a drought which has assumed alarming proportions, the townspeople and villagers make processions out into the countryside to sacrifice one or more sheep. If they encounter a stream on their way, one of their number is good-naturedly thrown into it. At the same time, children make simple dolls of cloth and go from house to house. The inhabitants of

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

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Fig. 28. Lane in Sulaimani. Left: wall of burnt bricks. Right: wall of mud bricks.
Fig. 29. Mud wall with entrance to baking room. Woman is rolling dough on a baking table. Sulaimani.

The home now to be reviewed as a type of residential background for the two feminine environments in urban surroundings, is the family house of my interpreter in Sulaimani. The father was a businessman who, as representative for a big firm in Baghdad, had a shop for electrical articles in the main street of Sulaimani. Although he traded in these modern things the business was fitted up like one of the larger booths in the *sūq* with a carpet-covered bench for the customers and a small workshop table for the proprietor—for example, just like a goldsmith's booth.

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In addition to the husband, about 60, the family in this home consisted of two wives, 55 and 37, and eleven children. Of these five were sons: 26, 13, 8, 6 and about 6 months, and six daughters: my interpreter, 25, the others 23, 17, 16, 15 and 3. A 19 year old daughter was married and lived with her husband's family (joint or extended family household). Normally, then, 14 persons lived in the home.

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[595]

Like the Sheikh property at Topzawa, the home was an entity shut off from the world around although not resident in a detached house. It comprised one of a row of one-storied houses built together in the older quarter of Sulaimani, and looked out on an unpaved alley between windowless walls. The house consisted of an older part built of sun-dried clay bricks, and a newer section built of fired yellow bricks. Both parts had a roof of poplar rafters covered with brushwood and a rolled clay roof on top. The only difference between them was that the rafters of the older part of the house projected, as is the case in village architecture, like a strong eave for the protection of the clay roof, whilst the clay roof had almost no projection over the brick walls. The house was constructed around a courtyard. Apart from the iron entrance door it was completely shut off from the outside world. The entrance door was at one end of the wall of fired brick that shut

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4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

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Fig. 45. Material folded round a stick is boiled in a pot. (Cf. fig. 40). Sargalu.
Fig. 46. When plaiting a rope the foot is used both by men and women. Balkha.

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be done by either men or women. On the other hand I only saw men weaving sacks (Mirza Rustam). [862]
After the material of narrow widths has been woven in suitable lengths for jackets (8 yds.) and trousers (12 yds.), respectively, it is "pleated". The narrow piece of material is folded to a third or quarter of its width, wound around a flat wooden stick (E. 2250), 0.35 m. long, and secured by a stitch or so. The wound material is then boiled in a pot for a few minutes, unwound from the stick and stretched out to dry in its folded state. After this the material is permanently pleated with two or three sharp pleats in each cloth breadth (cf. fig. 40).

The production of clay vessels. These are both glazed and unglazed red clay vessels. The glazed type 323
are sold in the *sāy* of the bigger provincial towns where the women buy them for storing various things, including butter.

The unglazed vessel (E. 2259) is used to fetch water from wells and basins and for putting drinking 323
water into shady spots in the courtyard to keep cool. These unglazed vessels are produced of local 415
clay in the villages. They are not made by the individual woman for her own use, but by a pair of [463]
specially expert women working together with a view to sale. The jars, which are more or less bottle-shaped are built up of clay coils without the aid of a potter's wheel[57]. They are then polished inside and out, fitted on the side with a bent handle between the body and neck, and decorated with a curved rim affixed to the body opposite the handle. It is then further embellished by stick impressions [531]
on the rim and an engraved longitudinal groove on the outer side of the handle. When the jars that 080

4: Hansen E:5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

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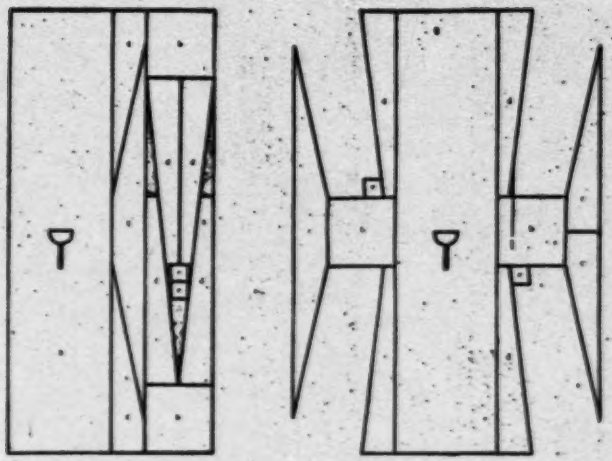

Fig. 66. Demonstration of how a certain length of material is cut out to form the different parts of a woman's kirtle. Scale 1:30.
a: the body; b: the two sleeves; c: the two flared-shaped cuffs (one of them sewn together from two pieces); d: the four side gores; e: the two rectangular gores in the armpits. (CT. fig. 51).

294 [439] [1177] [463] [804] *The production of feminine garments.* The materials for all women's dresses are machine-made and imported[25] from abroad for sale in the *sûq* of the larger towns. (Samples of brocade, E. 2352a-c). The padded garments like jackets and caftans are made by bazar tailors with Singer sewing machines that are found in both town and village[26]. Certain main measurements are taken of the customer, height and shoulder breadth. This is done with a measuring rod, *gêz*, (E. 2272). This is a round stick, 0.535 m. long, divided into English inches by circular notches, and consists of two sections, bound together by a cord, that can be inserted into each other. I did not witness the cutting-out of a caftan or a jacket.

Sleeveless jackets, trousers, under-kirtle and kirtle are made by hand or on a sewing machine by women at home. Except in the case of sleeveless jackets, nothing is wasted when cutting out these garments. All the parts of which the garments consist are limited by straight lines and utilize most ingeniously the available material (see diagram). Material is purchased in definite measurements, well-known to the bazar tailors. When cutting-out the kirtle the person's height is measured with the material. The smaller measurements are marked on the material by taking the distance between the thumb and little finger several times and the distance from the nose to the finger tips with an outstretched arm (1 yard). Feilberg[27] writes of the Lurs measuring by means of the hand, just as Danes at one time used the end joint of the thumb and the length of the foot.

[804]

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

565 children living in the home showed that there must have been other wives. The sheikh himself stated
595 that in his long life he had been married nineteen times! This can be compared with a statement by Hay[169] about "Old Ibrahim, Agha of the Dizay", who, 70 years old, had had nineteen wives. So far as I could discover the position was the same as that reported by Lane[170]: "Hence it often happens that, when a man who has already one wife wishes to marry another girl or woman, the father of the latter, or the female herself who is sought in marriage, will not consent to the union unless the first
[586] wife be previously divorced". But even if the man divorces his current wife to conform to the wishes of his new wife or her family, the children remain in the paternal home, which, when they marry, the sons extend to a joint family household.

587 Two half-grown 13-14 year old step-daughters with the sheikh of Sargalu marked the existence of
595 an earlier marriage, as did the presence at home of three married sons of the sheikh in Serkan. Of this family it was said that not only the sheikh but also his wife had been married before, she being the widow of his brother—thus a case of levirate marriage. Among the village aristocracy I thus was able to determine divorces, successions of marriages, and children of former marriages remaining in the home, but in this milieu I did not meet several wives simultaneously in the home.

595 In the humble village milieu it seemed that monogamy was the more usual, probably for economic
369 reasons. On the other hand I met here two cases of women who, taking with them their small children —a boy of 2 and a girl of 4 in Topzawa, and a male baby and girl of 5, both of whom later died, in Serkan—had left their husbands who had failed in their obligations in regard to maintaining them. They had been taken on as domestic help[171] at the sheikh's homes in Topzawa and Serkan. Thus the women had not returned to their families. A repudiated wife with a boy of about 2 in the humble village milieu in Balkha was said to live with and be supported by her family.

595 In the educated urban milieu I met a newly-married teacher couple (seen each other before marriage),
[586] and a teacher couple with two children (never seen each other before marriage). The latter were monogamous, as was the case with the former, and a very high sum was stated to be put aside for the young woman in the event of divorce (or widowhood).

595 There remain conditions in what is called the uneducated urban milieu or, if one prefers it, the
565 old-fashioned urban milieu which still retains its original structure devoid of Western influence. The
[463] milieu of this kind that I learned to know possessed good economic basis and was represented by small traders in Sulaimani and Kirkuk, who acted as agents for Baghdad firms dealing in electrical articles, bycycles and spare parts for automobiles. From the point of view of trade they represented the new times, but the structure of their homes evinced the old. Here I met polygamy functioning and could observe its effects on daily life, in the arrangement of the home, the distribution of the man's interest in regard to the wives, relations with the other children, and the distribution of work within the women's world of the home. There were only two wives. One thing is the permission given by the
[611] Coran to possess up to four wives simultaneously, another thing is practice—which presupposes
[582] when these four are augmented by female slaves, also permitted by the Coran—both unlimited wealth and unlimited room, and was consequently very definitely an upper class phenomenon, reserved to

Sulaimani, and is called: *kâlâk*. It is composed of 40 flower-shaped links of silver, and measures, extended, 0.730 m. Inset between the links is a silver begging bowl. It is this begging bowl that Kurds call *kâlâk*, from which the whole chain has apparently gained its name[29]. From the chain hang two silver bells[30], two triangular amulet cases of silver[31], two small silver watering cans[32], and two oval pieces of reddish-yellow carnelian[33].

The women wore necklaces. Two such have been brought back; the one (E. 2290) is known as *hâwdâr*, 1.10 m. long. Amidst the 45 glass beads a greyish-white, spherical, agate bead[34] has been inserted to avert evil[35]. In addition, this necklace has hanging from it an amulet sewn up in material, which will be discussed when reviewing later that type of charm. The other necklace (E. 2291) called *mîlwâdâz*, length 1.46 m., comprises 38 elements consisting of beads of various colours and shapes, and two white snails shells. According to Donaldson[36] these are to avert evil. The necklace also possessed a large, cylindrical piece of moss agate[37] and an amulet sewn into a piece of brocade.

Among the amulet jewellery for women are temple ornaments intended for fastening to the turban among the coin chains (see ornaments). A set (E. 2294–2295) known as *gul* consists of two flat, oval, yellowish-red carnelians mounted in silver, greatest diam. 0.036 m., reported to possess the same power of averting evil as the carnelian in the child's necklace, and furnished with pendants of Iranian silver coins.

These decorative amulets are made by bazar craftsmen, and are worn either alone or mounted in necklaces. Their protective effect is due to their colour (*hûsi*), their shape (small shells), their sound (bells), or their material (carnelian, moss agate or onyx).

Enclosed amulets. The other type of amulet is enclosed. The amulet itself (a piece of folded, written paper) is concealed in a case. This may be made of coloured material[38] like brocade, velvet or cotton, having the shape of a square or triangular[39] package. It is sewn by the woman herself. This capsule can hang on a necklet worn by women[40]. (Cf. E. 2290 and E. 2291, the amulet packets of which measure 0.075×0.08×0.013 and 0.06×0.06×0.09 m., respectively). The capsule can be sewn on to a fez, be attached by a safety pin to the waistcoat or to a child's costume. Such small pouches of material were seen in Kurdistan hung up on an inside wall to protect the house. The pouch can also be of metal, either a flat, triangular amulet box[41] like that already referred to, hanging from a child's shoulder (E. 2301), or like a cylinder[42] worn hanging vertically from the woman's waistcoat or in her necklace. An example (E. 2292) known as *lûle*, is 0.092 m. in length and has been struck in a matrix. It has a number of Iranian coins attached as decoration[43]. The pouches for these concealed amulets are either made at home, when it is a matter of pouches made of material, or by craftsmen if they were of metal.

On the other hand the contents, the amulet itself was, so far as I could ascertain, made by itinerant sayyids (cf. p. 108). I was able to watch the manufacture of two of such amulets in the aristocratic village milieu. Two itinerant sayyids, recognizable by the green binding round their turbans, arrived one day at the house of the Sheikh of Topzawa. On that day the village was visited by four wandering descendants of the Prophet, who called at various houses, where they did not appear to be uniformly welcome.

This category of itinerant holy men who is "preferably conspicuously clothed" appearing in villages as "transients of rather low status", is referred to in the case of the Kurds by Barth, who states that

[TEXT CONTINUES TOP of P. 158--Analyst]

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

1792 554 463 they make "good-luck charms, love-charms, charms against sickness, etc."[44]. None of the grown-up men of the house was home at the time. The sayyids were not received in the guest room of the house in accordance with their station as strangers of a certain rank, that on exceptional occasions could be done by the women when no men were at home. They came straight in to the family's courtyard, and were invited to sit in the three-walled central room where, rather reluctantly, a deal had been agreed upon—amulets in return for flour and sugar emptied into the beggars' bags that the sayyids carried over their shoulders. These persons appeared to rank with the sheikh's servants. No refreshment was offered them, only a single cigarette. They were not regarded as honoured guests of the house.

1792 789 463 The amulets were made whilst we watched. The one sayyid placed beside him a bottle of ink, asked the daughter of the house for two needles which he stuck in the sofa by the side of the ink bottle. He then produced from his dress an oblong piece of paper on which were drawn red lines, forming rectangular panels. These were filled in with figures, possibly also with words, but I was unable to distinguish this from the distance away I had to stand. On another piece of paper he took out was drawn a sword. On the reverse side of this paper rectangular fields were made with red pencil strokes. These also were filled with figures. The paper was then folded into a triangular packet, the bottom corner being bent diagonally, and the paper was then folded together.

306 789 The needles were picked up from the sofa, broken in the middle, and stuck into the triangular paper packet. The second piece of paper was also filled in with figures and then folded into a rectangular packet but without any iron content. When the amulets were handed over to the women they were laid in a little box in which already lay other amulets not yet enclosed in material. The box was kept in a coloured tin box with articles of clothing belonging to the lady of the house. I was not allowed to view the amulets whilst wearing my spectacles. Should I do so, I was told, they would lose their power to protect the person bearing them or the house on whose wall it was to hang.

Lane talks of the Arabs in Egypt with "written charms ... consisting of certain passages of the Kur'an and names of God"[45]. So far as I could determine without glasses and at the distance I was forced to keep, the amulets, the making of which I had witnessed, were figure charms. That iron is included in amulets, as in the case of the broken needles, is reported from Iran by Donaldson[46]. It did not appear that these amulets were made according to any formula. Amulet books are known from Afghanistan (E. 2193), and, referring to a Kurdish book of prophecies, Nikitine[47] reports that "... le même livre donne des spécimens pour les talismans inoffensifs dont tout le monde connaît ...".

1789 *Holy hand.* Fellberg[48] refers to the Lars having a rod with a small carved wooden hand at the top, that was carried in the waistband of an old man who allowed it to pass from hand to hand of those present, whereupon it was kissed and then passed along the row about, and then the other. A large wooden hand, wrapped round with a fluttering cloth of the holy green colour, was carried round in the village of Taqawa by one of the other four sayyids who were "working" the place at the same time. This man also tried later to visit the sheikh's house, but got no further than the steps up to the loggia of the guest house, where the daughter of the house had just started to churn. As he entered

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

way"[28]. As early as 1891 Garnett remarks that: "The seclusion of Moslem women, instead of being, as is generally assumed, a result of their "degraded position", is, on the contrary the outcome of the great respect and regard entertained for them by the men of their own nation."[29]

In the humble village milieu the activities of women: fetching water, participation in ploughing and harvesting and, sometimes, in the building of clay houses, the collection of manure and fuel, etc., brought them outside the area of their homes. Even in an elastic form the maintenance of seclusion was thus manifestly impossible, but it is worth noticing that no village women from the twin villages of Topzawa and Rakawa, from which the Dokan Dam drew its Kurdish labourers, could be persuaded to take work as house assistants or nurses with the European families. Any men would have been paid to obtain female help in these homes, but the Europeans had to be content with male servants.

A young British engineer who was taking a film in the two villages mentioned in order to provide local colour for another, larger film about the dam building, had no chance at all of taking the interior of the family house or the women in the sheikh's courtyard. Despite the elasticity of the seclusion obtaining within the village aristocracy, access for him was ruled out. He could only film the exteriors of village houses with peasant women on their way to and from their outdoor occupations. It was worthy of note that none of these women ever stopped or opened a conversation with him. As Woodmansee[30] says: "... although technically, unveiled the peasant women in the Moslem world has very definitely the psychology of the veil". One single peasant home was opened to the young Englishman. The husband here did not work on the actual dam building, but in the office of the Dokan Dam Site, where he brewed tea and served it to Europeans all day long. In this way he had far more contact with the European milieu than his compatriots, and the fact that he allowed access to his home for the taking of a film must be viewed in that light.

To sum up the conditions among humble peasant women: Neither over-garment nor veil is worn. For practical reasons there was no possibility of maintaining seclusion. Village women's radius of action was not confined to the home, but comprised fields, watering places, workshops and fruit plantations. In consequence they possessed far greater freedom of movement than did their more aristocratic sisters. However, although technically unveiled and not subject to seclusion, a division between the men's and women's worlds is maintained outside the actual work; one never saw social contact between the two groups. At weddings men and women did not connect. They are apart, and at those I witnessed the women took no part in the dancing. The men in the village danced several evenings running, the women hidden in the darkness, watching them from roofs in the vicinity.

As opposed to the village milieu, the women of the educated urban milieu have a school training behind them. In virtue of this they are able to enter the only two occupations open to Muslim women in Kurdistan: nursing or teaching. Through the former, whether at the Child Welfare Centre or as a visiting nurse calling at the various homes, the educated women in Sulaimani obtained a freedom of movement comparable to that enjoyed by humble village women. The more highly educated in these who elected for the teaching profession and worked at Sulaimani's only girl school, the Golden School for Girls, established in 1926.

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

562 In none of the three female environments so far considered was the idea of liberty understood in the same way as it is in the West.

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562 In the fourth and last female environment, the uneducated urban milieu, the veiling was obligatory.
369 As opposed to their educated sisters the uneducated also maintained seclusion. Nothing in their daily
571 activities brought them into contact with the man's world. Household purchases were attended to by the husband. I was also told that goods connected with dress were carried from house to house by women. However, women's sealed-off world was not confined to the home, for all women's apartments in the town were in contact with each other. A stream of female visitors entered the home, the women of which frequently visited other homes. Under cover of transportable seclusion there was considerable freedom within the urban woman's world. In consequence, uneducated women in towns obtained an opportunity of contact that lay on a quite different social plane from that applying to the three other feminine milieus. Among feminine village women the same possibility naturally applied. Here, however, it took place just as much at watering and washing places, etc., less in the homes. In the uneducated feminine milieu in Kurdistan, subjected to the veil and seclusion, a decisive barrier existed between the men's and women's worlds, not only in leisure but also in working hours.

591 For a man married to one or two wives in the uneducated women's milieu in a town like Sulaimani,
595 one found what Ekirch[9] describes as typical of a Turkish home: "For an Oriental his home is the place where his wife and children are, and where he eats his meals and spends the night .... his real home is either his shop or his favourite café, where he meets the people whose company constitutes his spiritual content ...".

562 In the uneducated feminine environment in Sulaimani as represented by my interpreter's home,
352 with its two wives whose sphere of work fell within the framework of the home, the social place of work could, exceptionally, be moved to the female area of another home. When baking a large supply of bread, the dough for which was prepared by an outside woman who arrived at dawn, the two housewives later in the morning transferred the actual operations to the home of a neighbour. Here there was a modern, jar-shaped clay oven that could be used by several women simultaneously. This was more effective than the narrow iron sheet laid over the fire that sufficed for daily needs.

562 Visits and return visits constituted the social contact with the outside world. In my experience the educated women in the home only made purchases in the city and then only of material, sweet, of
594 meat and vegetables. As mentioned, the daily household purchases were made by the husband and
443 delivered by small boys, of whom there were swarms, who in this way contributed towards their keep. That women did not shop at the meat and vegetable stalls was not considered as any form of oppression, in fact my impression was precisely the same as Wurzbacher's, who writes: "... as a rule the conservative Moslem women in the past did not do her own shopping .... For the women of the past, their lack of freedom for personal shopping was doubtless not regarded as an infringement on their liberty but a convenience"[10].

562 An investigation as to which men beyond the immediate family circle had access to the homes of
423 uneducated urban women disclosed that certain traders or artisans were admitted. A half-blind ra-

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

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holsterer, who had to make some mattresses and pillows on the occasion of the wedding, arrived one morning at my interpreter's home. He hung up in the courtyard his carding bow[2] with which he would thoroughly beat the cotton, converting the thick grey lumps into white, airy batting. Later in the afternoon this home-treated cotton was put into the cases made by the women and the upholsterer then completed the sewing. This work, which took a whole day, was done in the women's section of the house. The upholsterer left twice during the day to have his meals in the town.

Very occasionally a home tailor, an old man, was admitted to the house to measure me for a quilted caftan. Certain goods, such as rugs, etc., were brought by traders to be viewed. However, these men never entered the women's precincts, never getting further than the front door, and when going out to see them the women tied a head cloth tightly round head and mask. The same thing happened when a man with three donkeys came up the three steps of the house into the tiled hall to unload the supply of wheat for the coming winter. This was brought in large, woven panniers sewn together, and was unloaded behind the veils in the hall. I never saw the two wives in my interpreter's home go to a cinema. During *qurbān bairām*, on the day devoted to family visits, they accompanied their common husband or went visiting alone.

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No part of their daily activities brought them outside the home or into contact with the men's world. Their contacts with the women's world in the town were on the other hand unlimited. This fourth feminine environment thus maintained complete seclusion, that is to say there existed what, our Western world misleadingly calls a position of bondage.

COMMON DOMESTIC LIFE

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The distribution of authority and men's position in the home. The family's economy among the village aristocracy was naturally attended to by the men, it was also he who decided whether or not a 18 year old son could go on a family visit from Topzawa to Kirkūk or Baghdād. Equally, it obviously rested with the Shaikh of Topzawa to say whether or not he would accept me, my interpreter and her young brother as paying guests.

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Like all rural women, the women of the village aristocracy were completely illiterate, whereas their husbands and sons had been able to acquire at all events some book learning. Despite lack of schooling a woman could be extremely intelligent. This was evinced by the way she arranged her complicated daily tasks and ran the house, children, and husband. Besides, she knew her job, was highly qualified domestically, trained as housewife and mother from an early age. Within the home she was certainly man's equal. The family rooms were her domain where the husband was accepted and shown his natural place. In the cases where the wife's intelligence was greater than the husband's, it is a moot point whether the man could be said to possess an equal status in the home. Hay suggests as much when writing about conditions in Southern Kurdistan: "Most chiefs are to a greater or less extent under the thumbs of their womenfolk."[3]

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In regard to freedom, that Western concept into which attempts are made to adapt features of an utterly different social pattern like the Islamic, it can be said the women of the village aristocracy were

5: Edmonds G-5 (1923, 1945) 1957 MA11 Kurd MA11

over tribesmen armed only with rifles and limited supplies of ammunition, and, with the advent of aircraft and new types of mechanical transport suitable for rough country, even their former advantage of superior mobility has passed to the forces of law and order. In any case, those of the old enemy petrels who are still alive have been softened by a growing dependence on the amenities of the towns and on modern luxuries brought within reach by improved communications, while their sons, most of whom have been educated in government schools, are tending to become dependent, like the rest of the new middle class, on regular employment in the army, the civil service, or the professions. Nationalistic agitation might perhaps seek to profit from any agrarian unrest, but apart from this it is likely to express itself in little more than the clandestine circulation of leaflets by societies calling themselves 'communist' or occasional localized riots by students and bazaar loafers.

Whatever the mistakes and short-comings of the past, Iraq is the one country where the [illegible] officially recognized. In Sulaimani and Arbil especially not only is Kurdish the official language but the whole atmosphere of the administration is Kurdish. The sense of being at the mercy of an uncomprehending bureaucracy in a distant capital has been mitigated by a recent measure of devolution applying to the whole country, the Provincial Administration Law, whereby funds are placed at the disposal of, or may be raised by, the local authorities to be spent in accordance with policies locally determined. In spite of earlier handicaps Kurds have risen to the highest offices. One of the intellectuals imprisoned in 1931 has since held the portfolio of Education, and all the necessary books for the primary classes are now available in good, idiomatic Kurdish. A son of Shaykh Mahmud and one of the Shaykh's principal lieutenants, an officer of great ability, have been Ministers of Social Affairs in different Cabinets. For two or three years past the Minister of the Interior (a key office, second only to that of Prime Minister) and the *Mutasarrif* of Mosul (the senior provincial governorship) have been Kurds born and bred in Sulaimani. Fair numbers of students are now being sent to Europe and America. If there was ever any justification for the old fear that the Kurds of Iraq would look north or east for their salvation, there can be very little in it now. The present Prime Minister, General Nuri al-Sa'id, has a comprehending and liberal approach to the Kurdish question. It is still too early to say that all the old wounds have been healed, but there seems to be a new spirit abroad that augurs well for the future.

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[illegible] the Dalla and Dangala whose are at least 100 years Dalla. The [illegible] element is provided by a few Iona and Dangala Malaitans who are a wide range of more special trade such as carving or carpentry and are thus [illegible] as useful members of the community.

Method of Analysis.

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As I have [illegible] already been said, the total organisation of the various groups throughout the area under review have all to a greater or less degree been affected by contact with, and interference by the present administrative authority. If we go so far as to assume that at one time there was a form of social organisation which could be regarded as the typical norm for all the Solomon Islands of this region, it is certain that such a norm can [illegible] now be found functioning in the complete state. Malaitan society as it exists today is a society undergoing extremely rapid and at times violent social change. As we shall see there are powerful and perhaps irresistible forces at work tending not so much to the modification as to the total destruction and disintegration of existing forms of tribal organisation. In such circumstances, in order to make the investigation intelligible at all, some degree of simplification seems essential. In the main therefore I shall seek to [illegible] show up existing circumstances as [illegible] and then I am aware that such a method makes the resulting description to some extent subjective and that on many points I have not the statistical data to check the validity of my hypothetical [illegible]. In the circumstances however it appears to be the most reasonable procedure to adopt.

The Present Administration

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The previous form of the present administration has so many direct bearing on the Malaitan social system as described in this [illegible]. But at various points in the argument especially in the section dealing with economic problems reference will have to be made to elements in the administrative organisation, and it seems desirable therefore to give first a brief description of the functions and relationships of the various members of this present organisation.

The administrative system of Iru has been developed out of that of the old Ontong Region. The terminology remains to many respects unaltered. The chiefs of the districts were under

by Sorchaldand Banks from the Nehimmit area. Similar industrial developments further north would provide a labour market for the Banks of the Bohtl Zibe. Relationship the changers labour in that which is least organised. Here again the analogy with South African developments is very close.

Economic relations within the Village

The previous section dealt primarily with the economic relationships between the village group and the outside world, and the way in which changes in the form of this external contact may be expected to affect the basic economic organisation of village life. It is now necessary to consider the same sort of phenomena from the point of view of the individual rather than of the village group as a whole.

In general the actions for exchange within the village group are to be regarded as social rather than economic. The system of cultivation by family groups rather than individuals ensures that there is no great differentiation of economic status as between different cultivators, and trading contacts within the group are normally commonplace. Goats

An exception to this is the case of the weaver who occupies a specialist position by virtue of his trade. It should be noted that cooking and spinning are not specialist occupations. For the most part the wool is prepared and spun independently by the women of each household. The material is then washed up into cloth by the weaver in return for payment either in cash or kind.*

Another individual sometimes occupying a specialist position is the herdsman. Both in Pilkah and Dergala the whole flock of goats and sheep was in charge of a single individual who apparently lived permanently in the open with his charges. It was explained to me that the herdsman was not a member of the village but a stranger, the various families-sometimes to twelve contributing jointly to his support. Though the flocks are thus herded together there is no suggestion of 'joint ownership', each man knows his own sheep this fact being easily ascertained at milking time every morning and evening when the ewes/kids go out to the grazing and pick out their own particular property. In other villages conditions are rather different. For instance the Sheikhs of Bapir have large herds, and an animal already part of the community separates off during the summer to form an independent kahe, which tends to the cattle exclusively. I have no

* This describes the existing conditions. It is valid for Dergala but some of the other villagers now have an weaver of their own. The men still mostly all wear Kurdish cloth, but the spinning and weaving is largely concentrated in Rowanduz and Erbil.

8: Leach E-S (1938) 1940 MAII Kurd MAII
Rowanduz

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information as to how many individuals go with the cattle or what is their relationship with those that stay behind to get in the harvest.

There are few other specialist occupations. Bag making is a specialist accomplishment of some of the women but the quantities produced are of no economic importance. Other crafts are chiefly in the hands of travelling experts who wander from village to village equipped with the tools of their craft and work up the materials offered to them by their clients. One may name for instance the felt maker, the carpenter, the tinker and the builder. It must be emphasized that these people are not dealers but craftsmen. The felt maker works up the wool provided by the villagers; the villagers must provide the wood before the carpenter can make a fork for him. The capital of such craftsmen can therefore be very small and the return for their work is little more than their keep and travelling expenses.

Dealers

Quite distinct from these are the various dealers who provide the contact between the village and the outside world. These are best classified by their Turkish names - esnaftchi, attar and bezzaz. [illegible] of a local nature and entirely on a barter basis. They provide contact as between one part of the tribal area and another. Thus when I was in Walash a dealer arrived with fruit from Rest which he traded for small quantities of wheat and tobacco.

The attar may best be described as a travelling pedlar. He deals in such items as matches, needles, cigarette papers, spices, kerosene, thread, sugar, tea and coffee - in fact he fulfils the functions of the general village store. His terms are partly barter and partly cash. He can however only deal in small quantities - an Aghe such as Sheikh Mohammed would always send in direct to Rowanduz for his sugar rather than purchase it through an attar. Occasionally the attar is permanently established in a single village. A shopkeeper of this sort is known as dukandary among the villagers I visited, shops of this sort only existed in the smuggling centre of Shaklawa.

The bezzazes maintain permanent shops in the towns such as Rowanduz and Erbil and only send travellers out to the villages. They deal only in the superior categories of goods, - cloth, calico, tea, coffee, sugar, so that their principal clients are the Aghas. For the most part they are Jews or Armenians. They do not trade for barter but gain their trade by offering clients terms of credit. It is worth noting that usury seems to be excludedly a debt of 4% interest today is still a debt of 4% if settled in 3 years time. Presumably to allow for this, the prices are quite extortionate. The development of this system of credit trading is, I think, quite new for this part of Kurdistan. It seems likely in the course to lead to the bankruptcy

of either the Agha or the tenders, - it is hard to judge which is the most vulnerable. Thus, Said, son of Sheikh Mohammad of Nalash, asserted on that he personally was in debt to the tune of £500 and wanted me to get him a job with the oil company in Kirkuk so that he could work off his indebtedness; on the other hand in Dargala I met a rather pathetic little Kawaddun tenant who complained that he had £150 out on credit, some of it for over three years, and though he had just been round to see all his clients he had only managed to collect £5!

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Tobacco Marketing

In a previous section I emphasized the growing importance of tobacco for the economy of this part of Kurdistan. It is now necessary to consider how this tobacco crop is actually marketed. My enquiries on this subject led to somewhat contradictory results and the matter needs further investigation; in general I think the divergences of view was primarily due to the rapidly changing conditions in the tobacco trade. My notes reveal three distinct methods of marketing. The first is that now generally practised in the sophisticated areas of Kurdistan around Sulaimani and in the lowland districts of the Erbil liwa. This method does not at present apply to the Rowanduz area but may be expected to do so as the tobacco crop is increased.

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Marketing procedure 1. The big tobacco factories of Baghdad have their own agents in Kurdistan, who contract with the Aghas for the whole saleable surplus of the village crop. If required the Agha can obtain a substantial cash advance at the time of sowing the crop. Seed and technical advice is often provided by the merchant's agents who presumably work in cooperation with the Government departments concerned. 50% of the crop is the Agha's own by virtue of his land title, the other 50% belongs to individual cultivators. Since however the buyers' agent deals only with the Agha, the latter is in a position to take a substantial commission on the cultivators' share as well. On the other hand the individual cultivator need not sell his crop through the Agha if he does not think he is getting a fair price. But his only alternative is to trade with the shop, who as a middleman, can only offer a much lower price than the buyers' agent offers the Agha. The tobacco is transported from village to town at the buyers' expense in each case.

The second method was described to me as that practised in the old days before the coming of the Baghdad cigarette factories. My informant in this case was a Sulaimani man and I am uncertain to what extent this procedure was ever relevant for the Rowanduz area.

Marketing procedure 2. Trade was on a more individual basis. The tobacco merchants or their agents, with the Agha's consent, made advance contracts with individual cultivators. These advances had the

8: Leach E-S (1938) 1940 MAll Kurd MAll
Rowanduz

[illegible] area, and approximately close to area B of Map 1. It does not apply at all to area C. 341 342

The technological peculiarities of the buildings may be summarized as follows:

The shape is rectangular but there is no consistency in size or plan. As a rule the main floor faces Sandbill and looks out into the roof of the house immediately below but this generalism varies. The walls are usually of rough cut stone set in a mud plaster about two feet thick, but the modern tendency is to substitute sun-dried mud brick for the stone and plaster. Some houses are two stories high but this is rather unusual in such cases the upper storey is reached by an outside ladder. All rooms have windows in the outside wall but, except in the Agha's houses, these are very rarely any shutters. The floor is set in a small floor pit; there is sometimes a proper smoke vent in the roof but more usually the only escape for smoke is through the window. The roof is flat, sloping downwards slightly towards the front; the main roof beams run horizontally, parallel to the hill contours, while over them is laid a thick layer of thin branches about the thickness of pencils. This is given a top dressing several inches thick of a clayey mud from lime, ashes and rubble. In dry weather this sets hard and provides a perfectly right floor, but it is not a true cement. Under rain, it quickly goes soft and must be kept constantly rolled if leaks are to be avoided. The furnishings of a Kurdish house are extremely meagre. A variety of cooking utensils are the chief items. There is seldom a chair or a table. Bedding consists of felt quilts, perhaps a rug or two, and blankets. During the daytime these are rolled up in a corner and pushed out of the way. It may be mentioned that the most valuable parts of the house are the roof beams. Straight lengths of timber of adequate length are hard to obtain, and only Aghas can afford anything really substantial. If for any reason a peasant decides to build a new house, he dismantles the roof of his old one and uses the materials for his new house. A village site that has been abandoned thus reverts almost immediately to common earth. The limitations of this type of architecture are chiefly defined by the difficulty of materials. This is demonstrated in the houses of the wealthier Aghas and Beglike where by adding refinements such as wooden floors, glass windows and hinged doors extremely comfortable houses can be created from a design essentially similar to that of the ordinary peasant's house. With any levelling up of the general economic status of the community similar modifications of the peasant architecture may also be expected. Building is nowadays a specialist craft; an expert is usually called in from the town, the client supplying the materials. The employment of town experts is probably correlated with the adoption of modernish imitations of stone and plaster metal sheets. 352 416 342 331 462 342

8: Leach E-5 (1938) 1940 MA11 Kurd MA11
Rowanduz

per inch; while a good quality coloured cloth such as worn by Aghas has
forty six Reft 28 threads per inch.

As mentioned already the village weaver, where there is one, now has to face serious competition not only from the cloth dealers of the town but also from certain large scale weaving concerns in Rowanduz and Erbil. The latter still use the ordinary Kurdish looms but seem to be able to produce a better quality product than the village craftsmen. The difference may be due to the fact that the town craftsmen use a mechanically spun thread, whereas the village weaver in the main works with a hand spun article. But there is no definite tradition that the town made material is superior. The clothes worn by the Mir while I was in Jerqula had been made from local cloth, his son Jalal, on the other hand, had purchased the stuff for his new blue trousers in Rowanduz. My impression is however that with the ever increasing facilities for contact with imports from the town the functions of the village weaver will soon become superfluous and the community will become completely dependent upon outside sources in yet one further respect.